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upon him by his appointment to the office of Vice President. I hope it will appear that like honourable Principles, without a single Exception, have prevailed throughout New England. The successful Party in S^c Carolina say that the Electors are pledged to support Jefferson and Burr! Such is the result and these are the Men who are to sustain the two most distinguished offices in the Federal Government. The Change is great; —but if we can avoid being conducted into a French Port we may esteem ourselves yet to be fortunate. I hope the danger may be avoided but if the War in Europe shall continue, the Danger will be imminent. It is of infinite moment to prevent the poison already too deeply infused in New England from becoming more virulent. The preservation of our ancient Institutions is an object of the first magnitude.

These by vigilance and attention may be preserved, and if they shall be we may yet stand on safe Ground.

With respect to our accommodations here they are much better than we expected to find. The settlement still is, and for a long Time must continue to be in a rude state. The Trees have been cut away and the Fences have been removed. the place bears more the appearance of an encamping ground than of a City. it is susceptible of Improvement, but I trust will never be brought to Perfection in the manner contemplated by many of those who favoured the Removal of the Government to this Place. I mean at the expense of the United States. There are several very good Houses and many small ones; but they are sparsely situate and the publick Buildings planted so far from each other that great Inconveniences are experienced.

I have written to Gen^l Putnam relative to the Taxes on your shares in the Ohio Purchase and as soon as I can ascertain the amount, I will, according to your Request remit to him the money necessary to discharge them.

Mr. Hillhouse and I continue to be Fellow Lodgers. we have with us Messrs Chauncey and Elizur Goodrich Nathan Read and T. Foster, Mr. Nott of S^c Carolina and Gen^l Dickson of N^c Carolina, and we consider ourselves as very fortunate in having obtained Lodgings in a good House with an agreeable Family and near the Capitol.

I am Dear Sir with great
affection and Esteem Your
Friend and obed^t Servant

DWIGHT FOSTER

His Excellency
Gov. Strong.

3. Letters to Secretary Chase from the South, 1861.

THE following letters are selected from those written to Salmon P. Chase during the year 1861. In two cases, Richard Ela, April 12, and T. D. Winter, June 10, the letters are reports made at Mr. Chase's special request. Mrs. Hunt was a sister of Mr. Chase's

third wife, being married to Randall Hunt and resident in New Orleans. Most of the other letters are from men not among Chase's usual correspondents.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

I. J. MCCORMICK TO CHASE.

Augusta Georgia

March 6-61

Salmon P. Chase

Hond Sir,

The responsible, and influential position you now occupy ; and the threatening aspect of affairs, induces me as an old personal acquaintance, and one who has not been unfriendly to you, to address you.

I have been living in this City and State for the last twenty months, and have not been blind to what has taken place around me. I have been in contact with, and learned the opinions of all classes of people ; I have noted the rise, progress and character, of the revolution which has taken place ; and therefore can speak with knowledge, of what has been done ; that which is ; and the present determination as to the future ; and entertaining the opinions which I do, I kneed not add, that I deeply deplore the present situation of affairs.

Sir, argue as much, and as wisely as we may, that, by the law of the Constitution, the whole territory of the U. S. of six months since, is yet the territory of the U. S.: in fact, it is not true.

In law, the thirteen colonies were a part of the British empire, until the peace of '83. In law Mexico, Bolivia, Peru were a part of the empire of Spain for twenty years after Spain had ceased to have any authority over them, or, more recently, Texas was in law a part of Mexico, until the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ; yet in fact none of these legal propositions were true ; and the existence of the mere legal abstract truths, did not falsify the material fact, that these several Colonies and States, were not a part of the governments from which they had separated themselves. The same principle which applied to them, applies equally to the seceding States which were recently a part of the empire of the U. S.

That the empire is severed, is a fact, in practical existence. That a new government, foreign to the government of the U. S. has been organized is a fact in practical existence. That this new government recognizes no right of control, in the government of the U. S. is a fact in practical existence ; and these practical facts are hostile to, and subversive of the abstract legal fact, announced in the Inaugural address of the President of the U. S.

Let me assure you Sir ; these practical existing facts will be maintained. If your mind is influenced by the idea, that the seceding States will again become a part of the U. S. until the experiment has been tried, and the minds of men are materially changed, disabuse yourself of it at once. There are not in the Confederate States, one thousand men, who

will not sacrifice all—property, life, every thing but honor, or that which they believe to be honor, for the maintenance of their present position. In this I am not mistaken. True, there are many Union men in the South, many good, honest, honorable, patriotic men, who regret the separation ; but the separation being made ; they know, they seek for no alternative. They are with their State and the new government, and with them alone.

These things being so ; it is for the U. S. to decide the momentous question of peace or war, now impending ; and you Sir, are one of those who must make that decision.

If you should determine for the latter ; and the enforcement of the laws is such a determination ; you enter upon a terrible contest, a contest at war with every principle of self-government and every recognized American principle of political rights, and combat the principles, for which you yourselves contend. This is much, but more remains.

Sir, you cannot conquer the South. You may destroy her prosperity ; you may annihilate her people, but you cannot conquer them. You may launch your troops upon her, you may batter down her cities, you may carry fire, rapine and murder among her peaceful dwellings, and by this annihilation you may obtain a jurisdiction over her territory, but it will be a jurisdiction over nothing but ruins.

To a good man, a proposition fraught with such consequences, must be horrible. Barbarism or savage fanaticism alone, could exult over it ; and I will not believe you are in any manner allied to the latter without convincing proof of a fact so revolting.

In this picture I have granted your power in arms, not because the fact is so ; but because its discussion is unnecessary. But I grant it for the results ; and what are they ? I have said what they would be to the South ; to you, they would be, a bankrupt government, a ruined commerce, impoverished States and a demoralized people. With these facts staring you in the face, having destroyed the South, will you have any cause for rejoicings at home ?

In Gods name let there be peace, Settle the affair amicably. Let the language of Abraham to Lot control your councils, and although clouds may lour for a while, there will be sunshine hereafter. We cannot hope to make this a real land of Beula ; but near approaches are not denied to us.

You have ever said I was too violent ; will you not permit me to caution you against violence now ? and believe me Sir to be with the highest consideration, Yours, &c.

J. McCORMICK.

II. RICHARD ELA TO CHASE.

Washington 12th April 1861

Sir :

In compliance with your request, I respectfully submit the following statement of the state of political feeling at the Southwest as far as it

came under my observation during my late visit to Mobile and New Orleans.

My business in that region was of a private character, arising from the estate left by lately deceased brother who had been for more than twenty years a trader at Mobile, and who had named me Executor of his will. During the ten days I was in that city, that estate occupied my attention and brought me into contact with many individuals of various classes and pursuits.

I was very much surprised at the apparent unanimity of that population in support of the secession policy. For some months past I have been generally aware of the professed alarm of people from the South in regard to their rights and property—but I was unprepared to find such a unanimity among them. Without in any instance having introduced conversation on political subjects, I think every person with whom I had business in Mobile, addressed me questions as to the probable course of the Government at Washington towards the South. My reply to such questions was, that I had no means of knowing the intention of the Government beyond the views expressed in the Presidents inaugural address, and the course of its supporters during the late session of Congress—that I did not believe the Government contemplated any hostile measure, but it was bound to execute the laws as far as practicable.

Sometimes this led to further discussions the particulars of which it is impossible for me to recollect and state. The upshot was, that every person with whom I held conversation, whether originally from the North or South, expressed the firmest determination to support the Confederate States, as the only mode of preserving their rights and property. Perhaps the best mode of giving you a general idea of the mixture of argument and feeling which pervaded their conversations, will be the endeavor to state the leading points of a discussion I had with one of the most enterprising and successful traders at Mobile, like my brother a native of New Hampshire who had been on the most intimate social relations with him for many years. He is a private gentleman with whose frankness and practical views I had been most favorably impressed, and I accordingly took occasion to lead him into a full expression of his opinions, which I now give the substance of, though not intended by him to be repeated.

He remarked that for himself he was most anxious that relations of peace and amity should be preserved between the North and South, which he now regarded as wholly impossible under one Government. That the people of the North had been gradually brought to the settled and conscientious belief that slavery was the most abominable of all sins in the sight of God and man, while the people of the South sincerely believed that it was the most beneficent of all forms of servile labor and its protection was essential to the public and private prosperity of that region. With these radically conflicting views he said it was preposterous to suppose that one Government would satisfy both sections, and the best course was for them to separate peaceably, and each section pursue

its own path of duty and interest. That the present administration had been brought into power solely by the feeling of hostility to the institutions of the South, and that section did not intend that the Congress of the United States should usurp the power exercised by the National Convention of France and make their country another S'Domingo. Abolitionism had obtained a majority of votes, and got the control of the General Government of the United States—there was then no alternative for the South but to secede from the Union. Self preservation had compelled secession. He was neither a lawyer nor metaphysician and did not know, or care, whether under the Constitution, the States had or had not a right to secede—it was sufficient for him, that the election of the present administration upon the doctrines, and by the efforts of the abolitionists, was in fact a revolution—he was willing to accept it and abide by the consequences of resisting its government.

I remarked that so far from the present Government being under the control of abolitionists, it seemed to me as certain as anything that could be known of any man's private opinions, that the President was not an abolitionist, nor even any of the members of his cabinet so far as I could understand. That even were such their opinions, under the Constitution no law could be passed by Congress, which would affect slave property in the States.

He replied that he did not assert that the President was an abolitionist—he did not pretend to know whether he or any of his cabinet were or were not—but the point was, they had been brought into power by abolition principles and votes, and this was enough to justify secession by the South. That the result had proved that the South were correct in taking that step. The administration had been compelled whether abolitionists or not, to bestow some of its most important appointments on persons who had no public character or standing except as abolitionists, and their measures would of necessity be of the same hue. As to constitutional power, it was not worth while to speak of that, when the positive obligation to surrender fugitive slaves could not be enforced from the state of public feeling in the North. Under that feeling, there could be no safety from continual encroachment on the rights and property of the South. At any rate said he, we have determined not to expose ourselves to such hazards. We intend to protect ourselves, if it costs everything we have.

I enquired whether the views he expressed were generally entertained by the people of Mobile?

He replied that he was regarded as he believed, to be an exception from the moderation of his opinions, and his desire to preserve peace. It could not be otherwise with him, as his principal connexions in business were with the North. Many earnest, impressible people were in favor of immediate and active war, until the North were willing to cease their abuse of, and interference with, Southern institutions, with which they had no concern or responsibility. For himself, he was wholly opposed to hostilities except in self defense. But should the administration

at Washington attempt to collect revenue here, a bloody war is inevitable, as the South will choose to be exterminated to the last man, rather than submit to such a state of things.

The foregoing brief exposition of the views of this gentleman, is according to my best recollection of their substance during a conversation of more than an hour. From the conversation and remarks I heard in Cars, at Public Houses and other places of general resort during my passage through and sojourn in the Cotton States it seemed to me that his views were among the most moderate and measured I noticed, after crossing the line of Tennessee. While in Mobile I had occasion to visit several respectable families, and it struck me that the females from all I saw and heard, were quite as earnest and zealous as the men.

This state of things so much to be regretted, seems to be general in the Cotton States, so far as I had means of judging of the tone of public opinion. In Alabama Mississippi and Louisiana which I traversed, not an expression in favor of the Union came under my notice except what was made by myself in the various conversations I held. Every where in those States, the people appeared to be enthusiastic in favor of the seperate government of the Confederate States.

While at Mobile I accidentally met Mr. Cobb, late Secretary of the Treasury on his way from Montgomery to New Orleans. He appeared rejoiced to see me, carried me to his room and conversed freely on the policy of the Confederate States until interrupted by the calls of several gentlemen. From the tenor of his remarks it was evident that he did not consider resumption of the former connections between the seceded States and the United States to be expedient or practicable. From all I saw and heard it seems to me that it will not be brought about, until the Seceded States shall have fully experienced the charges and responsibilities of separate Government.

Very respectfully

Your obed Sert

RICHARD ELA

Hon. S. P. Chase

Secretary of the Treasury.

III. MRS. RANDALL HUNT TO CHASE.

New Orleans May 30th 1861.

My dear Brother

I have determined to avail myself of the oppertunity offered by the few days of grace, yet remaining before mails are closed, to write to you once more.

First, let me thank you for your prompt and kind answer to my former letter. I did not reply to it, because I had nothing to write that could interest you, beyond what was in the newspapers. I did not have it published because there was nothing in it calculated to satisfy or quiet the discontented or excited people.

There was something in your letter however, so practical and bearing so directly on the course which should be pursued at present by the United States, that I have frequently thought I ought perhaps to present it to your continued reflection.—Pardonnez moi. I would not appear presumptuous, I desire only to suggest.

What I refer to in your letter, is your condemnation of the attempt to delude the people, as to the settled opinion of any part of the country, and of the folly of evasion. “Let us,” you say, “recognize facts as they are, frankly and boldly, and not creep away from them.”

You have an enlarged and cultivated mind. The times call for the highest exercise of patriotism and statesmanship. The question which you have in a good degree to determine is, shall the country have peace or war? war, not with a foreign enemy, but civil and fratricidal war, the most cruel and bloody that history will ever know; bringing poverty, ruin famine and vice in its horrid train. Do not delude yourself or others with the notion that war can maintain the Union. Alas I say it with a heavy heart, the Union is destroyed, it can never be restored. If indeed the federal government had frowned upon the first dawning of disunion, things might have been different: But the U. S. suffered South Carolina to secede without opposition, and with scarcely a murmur of disapprobation. Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Texas, in a word all the Southern States, with the exception of Kentucky Missouri and Maryland, have joined in the secession, and have formed themselves into a powerful confederacy of States, with a government possessing all the usual powers of sovereignties, exercising entire and exclusive sway, legislative, executive, and judicial, within the limits of those states, and dissolving all connection with the U. S. Having thus by a revolution hitherto almost bloodless, assumed and exercised the right of self-government, the Confederate States are now threatened with war and desolation, if they do not abjure the government they have formed, and renounce forever the right of altering or abolishing that government, no matter how oppressive or despotic it may become.

The time has passed for a discussion about the territories, and fugitive slaves, and the constitutional right of a state to secede. Secession has proved to be a revolution, the overthrow of the constitution, the dissolution of the Union. Still secession is *un fait accompli*. Disunion is a fixed fact. It is worse than useless to deny or attempt to evade this truth.

The question then to be determined, is not, shall the Union be maintained, but, shall the Confederate States be allowed to govern themselves? And this is a question of liberty and free government.

And how do the statesmen of the North, how do you my dear Brother, who should recognize facts as they are, propose to deal with this question? With sword and buckler, the rifle, the bayonet, and the musket, the cannon and all the dread instruments of war! with infantry, and cavalry, and ships, and navies, and armies.

With these you propose to subjugate the entire free people of the

South, while you mock them, with the declaration that your object is to maintain a Union, which no longer exists. Is this wise, just, quite in keeping with the spirit of christianity and of liberty, and with the lofty character of the U. S.? Would you desire a union of compulsion—a union to be maintained by the bayonet—a union with hatred and revenge filling the hearts of the North, and of the South. I hope you would not. But if you would the thing is impossible. You can never subjugate the South—never. Her people are highspirited martial and intelligent. Educated in the school of American liberty, they value the right of self government above all price, they believe that governments are instituted among men to secure the life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that their just powers are derived from the consent of the governed. They view the attempt to conquer them, and compel them to submit to the gov't. of their victors as an effort of high-handed tyranny and oppression. You may for the moment have an advantage in wealth and numbers: But the South (and especially this part of the South) has the advantage of a climate which is death to northern soldiers, while it is health giving to the Southern. Besides the North is fighting for subjugation and domination, the South for liberty and independence. It is precisely like the great revolutionary struggle of '76 against the tyranny of G. B.—a struggle for liberty on one side, and for despotism on the other. How can you expect victory in such a cause? You know the power and resources of the South, her agricultural products her cotton tobacco sugar, the extent and fertility of her soil, the number of her inhabitants, the intimate connection of her interests with the industrial interests of Europe. England and France are already sympathising with her, and watch for an opportunity of acknowledging her sovereignty and independence. Her armies in the field equal your own in numbers, and are under the command of able and renowned officers. Surely eight millions of people, armed with the holy cause of liberty in such a country as they possess, are invincible by any force the North can send against them. Suppose what is not probable—suppose you should gain a victory, or two or more over the South, do you imagine that this would lead the way to submission? No, believe me, it might lead to a guerilla warfare, to a warfare like that carried on in former days by Marion and Sumpter and others who were content to live in swamps and fastnesses coming out as occasion offered to attack the invaders of their soil, and finally driving them off and gaining liberty. But there would be this difference. The South is now united to a man. There is no division among the people here. There is but one mind, one heart, one action. Do not suffer yourself to be misled with the idea, that there are union men in the South. There is not a man here who will not resist the arms of the North. The action of Mr. Lincoln and his cabinet has made them all of one mind.

I will tell you what I see here in the City. Every night the men are drilling. Young and old, professional men and laborers, lawyers, doctors, and even the ministers are all drilling. The shops are closed at six

that the clerks may go to their drilling. The ladies hold fares make clothes lint etc. for the army, and animate the men by appeals to their chivalry and their patriotism to resist the enemy to the death. What is seen in N. O. pervades the whole South. Never were a people more united and more determined. I solemnly believe that if the war now scarce begun shall go on, the North will suffer as much, if not more than the South, and they will finally be compelled to acknowledge the independence of the latter.

Why not do this then at once? Why not separate in peace? Why not avoid all the dreadful evils of this war?

You will wonder I suppose why I am writing to you who are so much abler than I to form a correct judgement in this matter, but I want you to know the feelings of the Southern people, and not to take council alone with narrow minded men of one idea, men who see nothing but the freedom of the negro, in the destruction of a noble country, and the overthrow of a noble government. Think of this, and what my feelings must be with my nearest and dearest relatives and friends arrayed against each other in a contest for Liberty.

I have always loved and respected you. Your abilities and character enable you to exercise a great, if not a controlling influence over the policy of the U. S. It was reported some six weeks ago that you were in favor of letting the South go in peace. I hope the report is true, and that you will exert yourself to ward off the calamity of war. If you succeed in the effort the country will bless you. Your name will be familiar as a household word and go down from generation to generation, and religion and liberty will ever hail you as their champion.

I close this appeal to you my dear Brother. I have not done justice to the subject. My heart and mind suggest many things more, but I will not tire you further.

Mr. Hunt has gone up to the camp to take leave of his brother and his nephew who are ordered off to-morrow. I suppose my own dear brothers will soon go off to fight and perhaps to fall in this cruel wicked war. Oh God help us.—The authors of it will be cursed from many an aching heart ere long.

Give my love to my dear little Nettie, and to Kate. I hoped this spring to have fitted up the dear old Station to pass our summers there. Its doors would have been as hospitable as in former days. I hoped to have passed many a happy day there with my relations. And I assure you that you and your children were among the happiest anticipations. But my chateaux en Espagne have been rudely thrown to the ground. If we women were at the helm of state our tender hearts would have settled these difficulties long before it came to this.

Farewell. Listen I pray you to my entreaty. It is not my prayer alone, it is the echo of every American heart. May God enlighten you and lead you in the paths of wisdom, virtue and liberty.

Very truly and affectionately yours

R. L. H.

IV. T. D. WINTER TO CHASE.

Washington City June 10/61

Hon Salmon P. Chase

Secretary of the Treasury

Sir

I have taken an early opportunity at your request to lay before you a Statement of the Condition of Affairs in those portions of the Seceded States which I have had occasion to be thrown into during the past few months, and in so doing I shall give you the facts as near as my personal observation has been able to glean and which reaches as late a period as the first of the present month, on all points bearing on the political, commercial and military condition of those portions of the secession States which I have been in, together with the Topography of those portions of the States which in future may be needed as the Channels for the Transportation of Troops into the disaffected States.

When I arrived in Memphis last fall I found the political feeling in that city strongly Union, and ardently advocating the claims of Mr. Bell for the Presidency ; with but one Exception I think the press of that city were with the Union party except the Memphis Avalanche, which has always been extremely Secession in its view.

Political Feeling

After the Presidential Election which placed Mr. Lincoln as President Elect before the people, the Union men and the Union Press although defeated in their great object, strongly opposed the feeling of secession, that seemed to be gaining ground, and though they felt no sympathy with the administration yet they strongly recommended that the administration have a fair commencement and that if the just rights of the South was conceded they could live as well under a Republican administration as any other. This position was maintained until even after all the other states had gone out with the Exception of Virginia, and when she seceded and the evacuation of Fort Sumpter took place, and still later until Mr. Bell made his wonderful leap into the Secession Ranks when the Union press placed the secession Flag at the head of their Columns.

With all the array of the press of Tennessee against the Union I do not think it has changed the sentiment of a large number of its patrons ; I do know that in the City of Memphis and in the State there are yet a good number of citizens, who are deeply devoted to the Union, and if they cannot express their sentiments outwardly they will, or have already done so within a day or two past at the Ballot Box, provided Mob Law has not reigned supreme, which I am much afraid will be the case in Memphis. The class of men as a general thing who advocate the doctrine of Secession as far as I have been able to see are men who have nothing to lose and everything to gain ; who have had the truth kept from them, and the impression instilled into their minds that the North-

ern States together with the administration are endeavoring to ruin them, and deprive them of all rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

That they have been deeply misled by their vile leaders, and their minds poisoned by the statements daily set forth by the organs of that party is well known. But my firm belief is that should an army formidable enough to control as they went, march into the South and show to the masses that they came only to execute the laws and protect their *slave* property the current of feeling would change materially, and there are *many* Union men in East and West Tennessee and Northern Alabama who will do their utmost in assisting the troops in carrying out the laws of the Country.

Let the ringleaders of this organization be laid hold of and the rest will soon subside

Commerce and Supplies

In a commercial point of view Memphis is a point that has been steadily increasing in trade, but the present state of affairs has completely prostrated her markets, and when I left there little or nothing was doing compared to what it was last fall. The quantity of Cotton on hand was but small and the season being over, that portion of the trade will be dull until the new crop comes in.

The condition of the provision market begins to excite more serious thought than anything else; they tell you that they have any quantity of provisions, but on an examination that I made in most of the provision Houses I should judge the stock very limited, and if the Louisville market is not supplying them, which they will not do without the Cash in advance and that in Kentucky funds or gold and silver, I see no source from which they can draw their supplies, for New Orleans has none to spare.

Fresh Beef is not plenty, and what there is, is only a middling quality.

Your early and prompt action in issuing orders to the officials at Cairo for the Seizure of all articles that would in any measure assist the South has very much retarded their operations for I do know that Thousands of Dollars worth of provisions had been ordered from St. Louis which has been their principal market and could they have gained a few weeks more, would have given them an opportunity to have laid in such a stock of Salt provisions as would have lasted them for months, and supplies of Ammunition they were depending upon are now in our hands.

I hold the idea that Memphis is the most important point we could obtain and that from its high location and the amount of Forest which surrounds it, no more eligible Spot Could be found for the quartering of the troops than that point, and I do not think the heat any greater than at Cairo, while it is exempt from the fogs and miasmas and damp dews which morning and evening rises over that point.

Number and Disposition of Troops

When I left Memphis there was not military force in the city except the "Home Guard" which is composed of Infantry and Cavalry.

The encampments are at the following places

Germantown on M and C R R	4000	Troops
Corinth “ “ “ “ “	8000	“
Union City on M and O R R	4500	“
Jackson “ “ “	8000	“
Fort Wright and Randolph	<u>2500</u>	“
At Camp Rector opp Mem 2 Reg	27000	

I think the Numbers are somewhat less but it will not vary a great deal from above statement

Some of the troops which left were comfortably equipped, while many had no military clothing, their arms were mostly what was taken from the Baton Rouge and Little Rock Arsenal, and were the old flint locks altered to Percussions.

I saw no Minnie or Maynard Rifles except in private hands

Two companies who came on the same train with me as far as Union City were a very unsoldierly set of men and badly officered

The best appearing and best drilled Regiments as far as I have seen are the Mississippi Regt, but None of them have the stamina or soldierly bearing that marks the companies that I have Seen Since my return North

My opinion is that our soldiers have far the advantage of them in discipline strength and better officers.

The Topography of the Country

As to that portion of the Country which will be of any particular interest, and over which I have travelled, I could see no great obstacles to overcome

From Memphis to Humboldt over the Memphis and Ohio R R is 81 miles through woods with here and there scattered plantations only 1 bridge about 175 feet long over the Big Hatchie River balance small trestle works, no heavy Grades on roads From Humboldt to Columbus City is 62 miles, country woody, no great impediments

Fort Randolph and Wright are bluffs projecting into the River. At Fort Randolph there are some heavy guns.

I know no other points at present that I could give that would be of importance ; but I would say this, in the valley of the Mississippi we hold 2 Important points Cairo and Birds Point ; Columbus City should be in our hands, but I look upon the occupation of Memphis, at an early day as one of the most important movements that could be made, and one that would do much to quell the turbulent spirits of the South West

Very Respectfully

Your obt Servt

T D WINTER

There may be other points coming up in my mind which I cannot now think of and which should I deem it of sufficient importance I will communicate to you.

T D W

V. E. F. DRAKE TO CHASE.

Hon. S. P. Chase,

Louisville Ky. 29. Aug. 1861.

My Dear Sir :

I have been spending a day or two here, with ample opportunity to note the condition of things. The peace of Kentucky is in great peril, and everything indicates an outbreak. It is not improbable that the Legislature will be broken up. I have just seen Mr. Wolfe, one of the staunchest union members, and he evidently feels much anxiety on the subject. A Secession barbecue will be held near Frankfort on the day the Legislature meets, at which the old state guard (secesh) will be present armed. The Union men are conscious of inability for want of arms and organization to defend themselves, and are inquiring anxiously how many men are in Ohio and Ind^a within reach. I do not think you, in Washington are really aware of the extent of the danger in this quarter. If the late vote of Ky is relied on, as an indication of the strength of the union party it will deceive you. The vote showed a large majority, but when carefully considered it will be found that nearly all the old men are Unionists at heart and in action while their sons, living in their fathers' houses are heading rebellion. There is another large class, who sympathize with the rebels, yet from policy vote and talk Union, and almost *every* union man considers the *South* aggrieved, and expects an end of the war only by agreeing to any demand by way of guarantee which the South may demand. If Jef. Davis' government would to day proffer a suspension of hostilities on any terms (even terms impossible for us to accept) and we should reject them, Kentucky would be a unit against us. I am sure that Kentucky is only a Union State for fear of the consequences of being the seat of war as a border Confederate State. The recent army reverses, have done much to weaken us both here and in Ohio. The people cannot understand why we fight everywhere with an inferior, opposed to a superior force. The Government is considered to blame for this. Another matter—the impunity of rebellion surprises us. The country swarms with traitors. They are daily taken in the very act—and yet none are punished. The arm of Government seems alike powerless to punish enemies or protect friends. Even the public proclamation to punish pirates is not carried out. If the Government would promptly punish all active treason, even by a bold stretch of power, it would give us great strength. When arms are shipped to Lexington from Cin[cinna]ti, let men be at hand to arrest all who resist and resistance would soon cease. In the recent case when a Cynthiana mob turned back the Govt. arms nothing has been done to punish the traitors. Next time they will *take* the arms, growing bold by the apparent weakness of Government. Let the experiment be made of punishing treason and our true friends will rally around the President, while now they stand coldly doubting what to do. Here in Louisville the Hotels are filled with men from the South, actively concocting trouble, and smuggling supplies South. A Supt of a leading R. R. in Mississippi has been here three weeks, planning

to get 40 bbls. grease, South, to lubricate the car wheels, and a few days since he shipped from N. Albany what he desired—for *St. Louis*!! He had the cargo *attached* and put ashore at Paducah—and to-day he has it in use on his road. This statement is a fact. The rebels below are suffering for many things. Coffee at Memphis is 45^{cts} per lb. Salt is very scarce. Tin, lead, powder almost exhausted. Leather out of market. Money they have none, and if the business through Louisville could be reduced to non-intercourse with the South, and all trade cut off, more could be expected than the march of a large army could accomplish. In closing, I beg again to urge upon your attention the precarious condition of things here. A force should be near at hand for any emergency. The only apology I have to make for intruding on your time to read this, is my desire that you shall be informed of what is passing here. You will of course put your own estimate upon its value.

With great Respect Yours, E. F. DRAKE

VI. R. MCMURDY TO CHASE.

Frankfort, Ky.,

June 14, 1861.

My Dear Sir:

I have just returned from a tour, through Ohio, New York and New England and portions of Kentucky, designed to place the people of these sections more in direct sympathy with each other and communicate the feelings and sentiments of the North to their brethren of K-y, and, in K-y I have been visiting quietly several nominating conventions for Congress, to secure if possible the nomination of the most ultra-Union men for Congress, so that Mr. Lincoln may have the fullest moral support from Ky. Wadsworth of the Maysville District, Menzies of the Covington District, Mallory of the Louisville District and, indeed, the nominees of all the districts are taking bold and decided ground to vote supplies and to sustain the Union unconditionally, except Crittenden and one other nominee. This district (Crittenden's) is the most tainted with Secession, except that adjoining Tennessee. Mr. Crittenden is using, in his speeches, what he conceives to be the best policy for him to carry the district, but some of us think it a mistake. They who are helping to canvass the district take bold and decided positions, and the Union men of this district can not be excelled, in the fulness of their position and the heartiness of their zeal. Mr. Crittenden in private conversation goes full length and will do right. The addresses of the Border Conference held here do not come up, by any means, to the measure of public sentiment. The Union men care nothing for them and are continually preparing to fight and not argue this case farther, with the Secessionists. Moorehead does no mischief here by his position, for his private intercourse shows that he is a Union man and the people know that his possessions in Mississippi are threatened with confiscation, unless he appeases the demon of Secession.

If not before the 20th June certainly after the Embargo at Louisville sh^d be perfected. I know it is claimed by the Union men, that the high prices paid for transportation and produce, are draining the South and thus more embarrassing the enemy. While it is true that something is effected in this way, much more embarrassment and annoyance w^d be effected by a perfect embargo—much more money would find its way, by circuitous land routes for provisions, at greater expense for provisions. The South must have bacon, during the summer or die of the summer diseases. There is a great scarcity and great complaint among the people of New Orleans. A leading merchant of New Orleans just from there, at my house, informs me that butter is now \$1 per lb, flour \$20 per bbl. and ice high and scarce. He anticipates, by 6 mos., if the blockade and embargo are not modified, a food insurrection of the poorer classes of New Orleans.

I see by telegrams, that Brazil is being tampered with by the Secessionists. You will recollect that I advised you 6 mos. ago that I knew that this was done and I know that the process is still going on. No country is more important to us than Brazil in many respects, and from my residence there and close study for years of her interest and policy there is no country, under intelligent and judicious management, w^d more readily be in union with us. Now Brazil is allied to and in sympathy with England. I have earnestly desired that the right men sh^d have been sent to Brazil, for the sake of our own country, for her own sake, and for humanity's sake. I feel that I advised you in time, when propositions were made to myself to be one of 3 agents to operate on that country. No country is feared so much as a competitor in cotton, by the South as Brazil. I rejoice that the Portuguese minister has been exposed in time, if guilty of treason.

As I wrote before the arms and companies of the State are gradually falling into the hands of the Union men. The Banks of the State generally refuse to loan money to the Commission appointed by the legislature and money can not be obtained elsewhere. The Governor is controlled by the 4 Union men on the Commission. Buckner is almost forced to resign his position as Brigadier Genl. of the State Guard. it must come however—and then by election the next officer is Col. Crittenden, a Union man. The Secessionists feel utterly defeated, but are looking for something to turn up. They are canvassing now under the banner of armed neutrality. Breckinridge is broken, demoralized, drunken half the time and is failing continually to meet his appointments. His power is waning rapidly with his own partisans even.

The best measure for Kentucky is for the Virginia Federal forces to proclaim that runaway slaves are becoming so numerous that they can not notice them in any way, either to return them or to protect them, unless the property of Union men, and that the Secessionists hereafter must take care of their own property or it will be an entire loss. It occurs to me that slaves being worth more in Virginia than land that the masters w^d colonize, sell, and place for sale all their slaves in the Cotton

States under such regimen and thus Virginia be rapidly made a free state without trouble or discussion, or the springing up of subsequent political issues to disturb the administration, on this subject. It w^d have a great effect to remove them at once from Ky and Missouri. Let it be understood quietly among the slaves of the traitors that they can run where they may, it w^d settle the business. Butler has done well to start with. He can do better.

I am just informed by a traitor from Arkansas, on his way to Richmond, in arms that he himself personally knows of two companies of Indians being at Harper's Ferry, and that he himself came along with Flournoy and several companies of Cherokee Indians. There is no doubt of this at all. I thus speak positively for it has been doubted by some Northern presses.

I do trust that the present Congress will not adjourn in July, until Judge Munroe, our Federal District Judge is removed. Almost every one w^d hail it with delight. Judge Catron, a true Union man, w^d appear before any committee on the subject—and when it was proposed to arraign before him a man for treason, in advance he proclaimed what he w^d do to protect the traitor. His family is the nucleus of Secession here and his son, Secretary of State, is editor of the famous Lexington Secession paper. The present judicial arrangements for Ky. c^d be, by statute, I suppose annulled, the courts abolished and Judge Munroe w^d cease to be a judge thereby. Is there not precedent for this? and then there c^d be two districts made in Kentucky and two Union men appointed. We must have a court, where treason will not be encouraged. Traitors w^d feel less secure.

If in any way I can do more than I am doing for the Gov^t advise me. The Dioceses of the Seceded States meet July 3 at Montgomery, Al. If you wish secret service for the Gov^t in that direction I sh^d not hesitate to venture, knowing that this w^d afford sufficient excuse, but in any manner command me, for I feel that, in any future, no such opportunity to do good for the entire world may never occur again.

Yours Truly,
R. MCMURDY.

VII. GARNETT DAVIS TO CHASE.

Frankfort, 3 Sept. 1861.

Hon. S. P. Chase

Dear sir :

The proclamation of Gen. Fremont reached here yesterday, and is most inopportune for the Union party. I reached here Sunday morning. We had for some days before been with the leading members of the legislature and other prominent union men of the state, arranging our movements and measures of the session, and had about completed them when the proclamation fell amongst us with pretty much the effect of a bomb shell. The slavery feature of the proclamation is greatly ob-

jected to by our friends, and has greatly disconcerted, and I fear has scattered us. We should have passed all our measures but for it, now I have serious doubts if we pass any of them. There is a very general, almost universal feeling, in the state against this war being or becoming a war against slavery. The position of the secessionists in this state has been all the time that it is, and this proclamation gives them the means of further and greatly pushing that deception. I do not care about it myself except as it may be used to pervert public opinion and disturb the counsels of union. It has caused me despondency for the first time for Ky. I wish it had not been made until this legislature had done its business and adjourned.

I know that the general principle of the martial law is that rebels forfeit all their estate and property, but many able men believe that this principle is so far modified by the constitution as to have no effect for a longer time than the life of the rebel. The martial law forfeits as well the life of all rebels, but it is not possible to execute this principle in all and every case. To a large extent not only policy, but necessity requires the application of the rule to be omitted. Would not the same considerations of policy at least require a relaxation of the forfeiture as to slaves?

You will pardon me for a single suggestion. Thousands and tens of thousands had no knowledge, not even suspicion, that they would incur a forfeiture of their property by arraying themselves against the government. Ought not the administration to issue a proclamation setting forth these principles and consequences, and give all people opportunity to return to their duty and save themselves.

Your obedient servant,

GARNETT DAVIS.

NOTE

New Haven, October 4, 1898.

To the Editor of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW :

Dear Sir :

While looking for something else, I to-day discovered, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. XXIII, p. 6, (1753) Sir Isaac Newton's "Table of the Assays, Weights, and Values, of Foreign Silver and Gold Coins, Made at the Mint" (1703), to which I referred in the foot-note on page 607 of your last volume. I doubt not that persons interested in the subject will be glad to have a reference to the original document, which, as I there stated, I had never been able to find or obtain.

Yours very truly,

W. G. SUMNER.